

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

SCENARIO HANDBOOK



RAINBIRD

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

SCENARIO DISK ONE

Scenario Disk One runs only with the
Universal Military Simulator

by D.Ezra Sidran

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Rainbird Software
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Note for users:

For instructions on how to use the Scenario disk, please refer to your original UMS user instruction manual.

Hinweis an alle Benutzer:

Für die Anteilung zur Benutzung der Scenario-Diskette schlagen Sie bitte in Ihrem Original-UMS-Handbuch nach.

Note aux utilisateurs:

Veuillez vous référer aux instructions de votre manuel d'utilisation UMS original pour pourvoir la disquette Scenario.

SHILOH

APRIL 6 & 7, 1862

GRANT -

JOHNSTON/BEAUREGARD

*“...the one who attacks first now
will be victorious
and the enemy will have to be in a hurry
if he gets ahead of me.”*

-U.S. Grant¹

As the American Civil War was about to enter its second sanguine year, an ever deepening gloom of Northern battlefield humiliations in the east was offset only by the distant star of an obscure Major General of Volunteers in the west who had led his troops to victory at Forts Donelson and Henry. Now that army was resting beside the banks of the Tennessee River at Pittsburg Landing near a Dunkard Church called Shiloh.

“[I] had no idea that the enemy would leave strong entrenchments to take the initiative when he knew he would be attacked where he was if he remained,”² Grant would later write in his Memoirs, but now, twenty-five miles to the south Confederate general Joe Johnston’s troops, which were supposed to be still licking their wounds from their recent defeats at Grant’s hands, were moving northward to attack. It was Sunday and the peach trees about the Union camp were in bloom.

Both armies were primarily composed of raw levies who had never fired a shot in anger before. “It’s just like shooting squirrels, only these squirrels have guns, that’s all” explained one sergeant to the recruits. Johnston’s march north was peppered with the sound of new soldiers firing off their weapons; making sure that they would work. It would be estimated, afterwards, that 80% of the troops engaged at Shiloh had never fired a weapon before.

It took some time before the Confederates had formed three long parallel lines in the woods outside the Union camps. A few Northern pickets reported unusual activity and the colonel of the 53rd Ohio had approached Major General William Tecumseh Sherman with alarm.



"Take your damn regiment back to Ohio", Bill Sherman had said, "There is no enemy nearer than Corinth."³

The Union army of 37,000 men was camped along a ridgeline that stretched four miles westward from the Tennessee. Closest to the river was Stuart's brigade, then came Prentiss' division of raw recruits, then McClemand's veterans of Henry and Donelson and Sherman's raw division at the extreme right. Hurlbut's and W.H.L. Wallace's divisions were located behind the ridgeline to the north. Lew Wallace's division was bivouacked at Crump's Landing about five miles north of the main body of troops. Further downriver, at Savannah, Grant had made his headquarters in preparation of joining up with Major General Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio which was expected in a day or two.

Grant had planned to move Army headquarters this day from Savannah to Pittsburg Landing. His headquarters ship, the *Tigress*, was already raising steam as the first disconcerting sounds of gunfire drifted northward from Shiloh. Though much of his staff dismissed the opening sounds of the battle of Shiloh as simple skirmishing, Grant knew better. "Gentleman," Grant announced, "the ball is in motion. Let's be off." Fifteen minutes later the *Tigress* cast off from the dock and headed upstream towards the sounds of battle.

By 7:30 A.M., when Grant and his staff disembarked from the *Tigress* at Pittsburg Landing, a knot of stragglers were already milling about the landing, spreading tales of disaster and disheartening reinforcements. Grant rode up to Col. James T. Reid of the 15th Iowa, one of the two fresh regiments drawn up on the bluffs above the landing and awaiting instructions. Grants orders to the Iowa colonel to halt all deserters were met with a blank stare. Again, Grant identified himself as the commander of the Army of the Tennessee. Col. Reid seemed to understand finally and the two Iowa regiments made a line across the road from the battlefield to the landing where all stragglers were turned around at bayonet point and sent back into the fray.

What was becoming painfully clear to Grant as he galloped about the battlefield, confering with his divisional commanders, was that the Army of the Tennessee had been surprised in its camps shortly after dawn this Sunday morning. Some parts of the army had simply melted away and hightailed it back to Pittsburg Landing to form the disorganized mob that had greeted Grant a few moments earlier. Still, other sections of the army had fought fiercely, even counter-attacking the Confederates.

Joe Johnston's plan of attacking with three corps directly behind each other only created more chaos and confusion after the initial assault had swept away any semblance of order and chain of command. Each of the Confederate corps stretched across some four or five miles of rough terrain with no lateral lines of communication. By mid-morning the Confederate units were crashing into each other as it became impos-

sible for the corps and division commanders to control their far-flung units. Many casualties were caused by friendly fire including, early that afternoon, the mortal wounding of the Confederate commander, Joe Johnston.

Untried regiments of both sides broke and fled away from the battle only to be intercepted by staff officers and sent back to the firing line. Nonetheless, the Confederate army was making steady progress in its push to the river.

Early that morning Grant had ordered Lew Wallace's troops to hurry with all speed from Crump's Landing to the battlefield. If at anytime during this day, Wallace's division had actually arrived at the battle on the road from Crump's Landing they would have caught the Confederate attack *en flanke* and probably rolled up the enemy's line like a carpet. But, it was not to be. For years after the war, Wallace would defend his actions this day in the public forum; explaining why his division marched and counter-marched along country roads while the sound of gunfire grew fainter in the distance.

Grant rode along the Union line; taking stock of the situation and conferring with his divisional commanders. Sherman, who had already had one horse shot from under him and was sporting a wounded hand, reported that things weren't too bad on the right and that he would hold given enough ammunition.

To the east of Shiloh Church, however, where Sherman's line joined up with Prentiss's raw Sixth Division, the situation was becoming increasingly desperate. Prentiss was holding his ground, at all hazards as per Grant's instructions, but Confederate regiments had forced a wedge between him and Sherman on his right. Prentiss had formed a line along a sunken road that ran through a woods. This place would become known as the Homet's Nest, because here a Union division would be chewed up while bullets whizzed overhead like a cloud of insects. They lasted another six hours before Prentiss-himself waving the white flag surrendered the 1,558 men remaining of the Sixth Division.

Nonetheless, the Sixth Division was the rock that the Confederate attack floundered on. By 5:00 P.M. that afternoon Col. Webster, Grant's Chief of Artillery, had assembled a solid line of fifty cannon atop the bluffs above Pittsburg Landing. The Union army, without Prentiss' Sixth Division, of course, had dug in on the bluffs to await the last crushing Confederate attack.

The early victories had left the Confederate army in a state of confusion almost as profound as the Union's shock of defeat. At least half of the Confederate army was now dispersed among the captured Union camps acquiring souvenirs and idly chatting. "This is one of the evils of raw troops, imperfectly organized and badly commanded," Confederate General Braxton Bragg would later write, "a tribute, it seems, we

must continue to pay to universal suffrage, the bane of our military organization."⁴

A half-hearted Confederate attack at the bluffs was attempted before sunset, but a fusillade from Webster's massed cannons, put an end to it and the first day's fighting.

And then a steady rain fell. It seemed to be the custom after a Civil War battle; some speculate it was the waves of blackpowder smoke drifting up from the massed infantry and seeding the clouds that caused the rains.

From fragments of personal memoirs and recollections compiled after the war a most telling story can be pieced together. Events took place this night in the Union camp behind the lines of troops, "lying in the water and mud ... [who would be]...as weary in the morning as they had been the evening before."⁵

Twenty-three years later Grant would write, "During the night rain fell in torrents and our troops were exposed to the storm without shelter. I made my headquarters under a tree a few hundred yards back from the river bank. My ankle was so much swollen from the fall of my horse the Friday night preceding, and the bruise was so painful, that I could get no rest. The drenching rain would have precluded the possibility of sleep without this additional cause. Some time after midnight, growing restive under the storm and continuous pain, I moved back to the log-house under the bank. This had been taken as a hospital, and all night wounded men were being brought in, their wounds dressed, a leg or an arm amputated as the case might require, and everything being done to save life or alleviate suffering. The sight was more unendurable than encountering the enemy's fire, and I returned to my tree in the rain."⁶ Grant's narrative ends here, however, eight years after Grant's death, in an interview with the *Washington Post*, Sherman would finish the story.

While Grant kept his solitary council in the downpour, Sherman met with other division commanders. Together they had decided that the only prudent course of action was to get as much of the army as possible across the Tennessee River, probably by making a chain of boats, and abandon the wounded and the baggage to the victorious Confederates. Sherman was elected to deliver the news to Grant.

General William Tecumseh Sherman found Grant, "...standing under the tree in the heavy rain, hat slouched down over his face, coat-collar up around his ears, a dimly-glowing lantern in his hand, cigar clenched between his teeth." Sherman looked at him; then, "moved..by some wise and sudden instinct not to talk about retreat, said, 'Well, Grant we've had the devil's own day, haven't we?'"

"Grant said 'Yes,' and his cigar glowed in the darkness as he gave a quick, hard puff at it, 'Yes. Whip 'em tomorrow, though.'"⁷

Two hours before dawn, reinforced by Lew Wallace's errant division and Buell's troops that had finally arrived and crossed the river, Grant

struck. The Confederate line quickly collapsed and by 3:00 P.M. their army was in full retreat, abandoning their field hospital and baggage. The battle of Shiloh was over.

Notes

- 1) *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* First edition 1885. Volume 1, Page 307
Grant made this statement to Colonel J. D. Webster of his staff during the Confederate attack at Fort Donelson a few months before Shiloh. Nonetheless, it is indicative of Grant's fierce spirit and his belief, "that in every great battle comes a time when both sides are utterly fought out. The side that picks itself up first and attacks will always win."
- 2) *ibid.* Page 332
- 3) *The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War*, 1960, Page 123
- 4) *Grant Moves South*, by Bruce Catton; Little, Brown & Co., Boston; 1960 p. 237
- 5) *Ibid.* p. 241
- 6) *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, Page 349
- 7) *Grant Moves South*, p. 242



Army of the Tennessee

Major General U.S. Grant commanding

FIRST DIVISION

Major General John A. McClemand



First Brigade
Col. Abraham M. Hare
2,092



Second Brigade
Col. C. Carroll Marsh
2,125



Third Brigade
Col. Julius Raith
1,978



Battery D
2nd Illinois Light Artillery
Capt. James P. Timony
225



Battery D
1st Illinois Light Artillery
Capt. Edward McAllister
245



Battery E
2nd Illinois Light Artillery
Lt. George L. Nispel
257



Burrow's Battery
14th Ohio Light Artillery
Capt. Jerome B. Burrows
202



1st Division Unattached Cavalry
1st Btl., 4th Illinois Cavalry
Carmichael's Company
Stewart's Company
475

SECOND DIVISION

Brigadier General William H. L. Wallace (k)
Col. James M. Tuttle



First Brigade
Col. James M. Tuttle
2,475



Second Brigade
Brigadier General John McArthur
(w)
Col. Thomas Morton
3,115



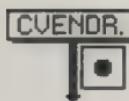
Third Brigade
Col. Thomas W. Sweeny (w)
Col. Silas D. Baldwin
3,215



Battery A
1st Illinois Light Artillery
Lt. Peter P. Wood
237



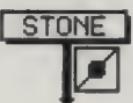
Battery D
1st Missouri Light Artillery
Capt. Henry Richardson
214



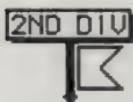
Cavender's Battalion Mo. Artillery
Maj. J. S. Cavender
315

**Battery H**

1st Missouri Light Artillery
Capt. Frederick Welker
205

**Battery K**

1st Missouri Light Artillery
Capt. George H. Stone
195

**2nd Division Cavalry**

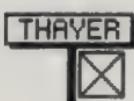
Co. A 2nd Illinois Cavalry
Co. B 2nd Illinois Cavalry
Co. C 2nd United States Cavalry
Co. I 4th United States Cavalry
625

THIRD DIVISION

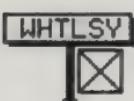
Major General Lew Wallace

**First Brigade**

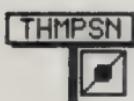
Col. Morgan L. Smith
2,225

**Second Brigade**

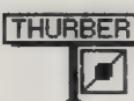
Col. John M. Thayer
2,775

**Third Brigade**

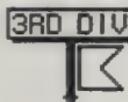
Col. Charles Whittlesey
2,680

**Thompson's Battery**

9th Indiana Light Artillery
Lt. George R. Brown
275

**Battery I**

1st Missouri Light Artillery
Lt. Charles H. Thurber
285



Third Division Cavalry
 3rd Btin. 11th Illinois Cavalry
 3rd Btin. 5th Ohio Cavalry
 250

FOURTH DIVISION

Brigadier General Stephen A. Hurlbut



First Brigade
 Col. Nelson G. Williams (w)
 Col. Issac C. Pugh
 2,125



Second Brigade
 Col. James C. Veatch
 2,110



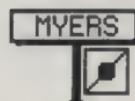
Third Brigade
 Brigadier General Jacob G. Lauman
 2,095



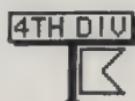
Ross's Battery
 2nd Michigan Light Artillery
 Lt. Cuthbert W. Laing
 225



Battery C
 1st Missouri Light Artillery
 Lt. Edward Brotzmann
 205



Myer's Battery
 13th Ohio Light Artillery
 Capt. John B. Myers
 195



1st & 2nd Btlns.
 5th Ohio Cavalry
 225

FIFTH DIVISION

Brigadier General William T. Sherman (w)



First Brigade

Col. John A. McDowell
2,125



Second Brigade

Col. David Stuart (w)
Lt. Col. Oscar Malmborg
2,025



Third Brigade

Col. Jesse Hildebrand
1975



Fourth Brigade

Col. Ralph P. Buckland
1955



Battery B

1st Illinois Light Artillery
Capt. Samuel E. Barrett
205



Battery E

1st Illinois Light Artillery
Capt. Allen C. Waterhouse (w)
Lieut. Abial R. Abbott (w)
Lieut. John A. Firth
190



Morton Battery

6th Indiana Light Artillery
Capt. Christian Thielemann
225



Cavalry

2nd and 3rd Battlions,
4th Illinois Cavalry
Col. T. Lyle Dickey
475

SIXTH DIVISION

Brigadier General Benjamin M. Prentiss (c)



First Brigade

Col. Everett Peabody (k)
Col. Francis Quinn
2,325



Second Brigade

Col. Madison Miller (c)
Col. Jacob Fry
2,255



Not Brigaded

Col. Alexander Chambers (w)
Col. Addison H. Sanders
2,250



Hickenlooper's Battery

5th Ohio Light Artillery
Capt. Andrew Hickenlooper
225



Munch's Battery

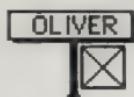
1st Minnesota Light Artillery
Capt. Emil Munch (w)
Lieut. William Pfaender
195



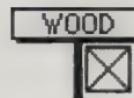
Cavalry

1st and 2nd Battalions
11th Illinois Cavalry
Col. Robert G. Ingersoll
315

UNASSIGNED TROOPS



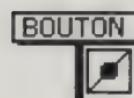
15th Michigan
Col. John M. Oliver
510



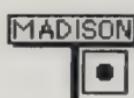
14th Wisconsin
Col. David E. Wood
895



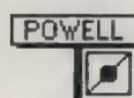
Battery H
1st Illinois Light Artillery
Capt. Axel Silversparre
205



Battery I
1st Illinois Light Artillery
Capt. Edward Bouton
195



Battery B
2nd Illinois Artillery
Capt. Relly Madison
170



Battery F
2nd Illinois Light Artillery
Capt. John W. Powell (w)
180



8th Battery
Ohio Light Artillery
Capt. Louis Markgraf
175

Army of the Mississippi

General Albert Sidney Johnston (k)

General G. T. Beauregard

FIRST ARMY CORPS

Major General Leonidas Polk

First Division

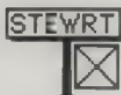
Brigadier General Charles Clark (w)

Brigadier General Alexander P. Stewart



First Brigade

Col. Robert M. Russell
2,250



Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. Alexander P. Stewart
2,150



Tennessee Battery

Capt. Smith P. Bankhead
175



Mississippi Battery

Capt. Thomas J. Stamford
150

Second Division

Major General Benjamin F. Cheatham (w)



First Brigade

Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson (w)
 Col. Preston Smith (w)
 Col. A. K. Blythe (k)
 Lieut. Col. David L. Herron (k)
 Maj. James Moore
 2,100



Second Brigade

Col. William H. Stephens
 2,090



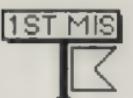
Tennessee Battery

Capt. Marshal T. Polk (w)
 225



Mississippi Battery

Capt. Melancthon Smith
 195



1st Mississippi Cavalry

Col. Andrew J. Lindsay
 350



47th Tennessee

Col. Munson R. Hill
 731



Escort

Company Alabama Cavalry
 Capt. Robert W. Smith
 125

SECOND ARMY CORPS

Major General Braxton Bragg

First Division

Brigadier General Daniel Ruggles



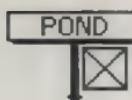
First Brigade

Col. Randall L. Gibson
2,350



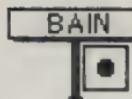
Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. Patton Anderson
2,250



Third Brigade

Col. Preston Pond, Jr.
2,400



Bain's Mississippi Battery

Capt. S. C. Bain
225



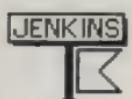
Washington (Louisiana) Battery

Capt. W. Irving Hodgson
275



Ketchum's Alabama Battery

Capt. William H. Ketchum
250

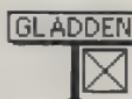


Alabama Cavalry Battalion

Capt. Thomas F. Jenkins
150

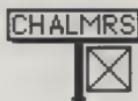
Second Division

Brigadier General Jones M. Withers



First Brigade

Brig. Gen. Adley H. Gladden (k)
Col. Daniel W. Adams (w)
Col. Zach C. Deas (w)
2,600

**Second Brigade**

Brig. Gen. James R. Chalmers
2,250

**Third Brigade**

Brig. Gen. John K. Jackson
2,150

**Robertson's Alabama Battery**

Capt. Felix H. Robertson
195

**Gage's Alabama Battery**

Capt. Charles P. Gage
190

**Girardey's Georgia Battery**

Capt. Isadore P. Girardey
215

**Clanton's Alabama Cavalry Regiment**

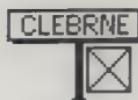
Col. James H. Clanton (w)
315

THIRD ARMY CORPS

Major General William J. Hardee

**First Brigade**

Brig. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman (w)
Col. R. G. Shaver (w)
2,150

**Second Brigade**

Brig. Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne
2,050

**Warren Light Artillery**

Capt. Charles Swett
195



Pillow's Flying Artillery
Capt. Miller
215



Trigg's Arkansas Battery
Capt. John T. Trigg
250



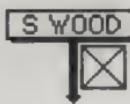
Calvert's Arkansas Battery
Capt. J. H. Calvert
225



Hubbard's Arkansas Battery
Capt. George T. Hubbard
245



Harper's (Jefferson Mississippi) Battery
Capt. William L. Harper (w)
Lieut. Put Darden
190



Third Brigade
Brig. Gen. Sterling A. M. Wood(w)
Col. William K. Patterson
2,650

RESERVE CORPS

Brigadier General John C. Breckinridge



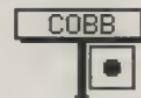
First brigade
Col. Robert P. Trabue
1,250



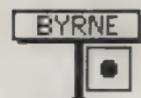
Second Brigade
Brig. Gen. John S. Bowen (w)
Col. John D. Martin
1,300



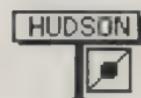
Third Brigade
Col. Winfield S. Statham
1,100



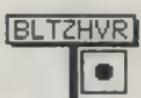
Lyon's Kentucky Battery
Capt. Robert Cobb
175



Byrne's Mississippi Battery
Capt. Edward Byrne
180



Pettus Flying Artillery
Capt. Alfred Hudson
195



Watson's Louisiana Battery
Capt. Daniel Beltzhoover
150

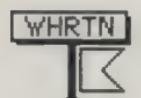


Rutledge's Tennessee Battery
Capt. Arthur M. Rutledge
215



Forrest's Regiment Tennessee Cavalry
Col. Nathan B. Forrest (w)
215

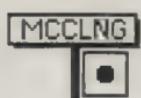
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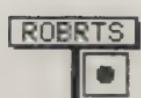
Wharton's Texas Regiment Cavalry
Col. John A. Wharton (w)
275



Wirt Adams's Mississippi Regiment Cavalry
Col. Wirt Adams
315



McClung's Tennessee Battery
Capt. Hugh L. W. McClung
250



Roberts Arkansas Battery
175



The Hornet's Nest



ANTIETAM

SEPTEMBER 17, 1863

McCLELLAN-LEE

*“...The army will resume its
march tomorrow,
taking the Hagerstown road.
General Jackson’s command
will form the advance, and,
after passing Middletown,
with such portion as he may select,
take the route toward Sharpsburg...”*

*-By command of General R. E. Lee
Special Orders No. 191*

§

*“Here is a paper with which,
if I cannot whip Bobby Lee,
I will be willing to go home.”*
-General George B. McClellan

§

It was Private B. W. Mitchell, of Company F, 27th Indiana Volunteers, who found it.

Three cigars were wrapped inside. Private Mitchell smoked one and gave the other two to First Sergeant John M. Bloss and Colonel Silas Colgrove. The slightest doubt of its authenticity had been erased when the writing was identified by Colonel Pittman of McClellan's staff; he had served with Colonel Chilton, now Lee's adjutant-general, in Detroit before the war. Of course Mitchell, Bloss, Colgrove and General Williams, up at divisional headquarters, never doubted it for a moment, the cigars were the proof: tobacco was just too scarce in the South.

The 27th Indiana had shuffled into Frederick, Maryland, just after twelve noon on September 13, 1862 a few hours after it had been vacated by General Dan Hill's Confederate division. They arrived as conquering heroes; rescuing the decent citizenry from outrage, both real and imagined, suffered at the hands of Robert E. Lee's half-starved, shoeless Confederates who were currently tearing across Western Maryland. In their wake General George McClellan's Union Army of the Potomac could only grope, or strike blindly, never hoping to ascertain Lee's true target of the invasion.

Until now.

Private Mitchell saw the cigars first, of course, and almost threw the paper surrounding them away. Without a thought.

The paper was Robert E. Lee's Special Orders No. 191 and it described in great detail the marching orders for the entire Army of Northern Virginia during the Maryland campaign. The paper would travel up the unbroken chain of command until George McClellan would utter those damnable words, "Here is a paper with which, if I cannot whip Bobby Lee, I will be willing to go home." By the time these events would run their course, 22,728 Americans¹ would lie wounded, or dying, on the fields near Sharpsburg, Maryland, and by the banks of the Antietam Creek; Bobby Lee would not be beaten and George McClellan would go home.

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Jefferson Davis, his counterpart within the government of the Confederate States of America, both needed a great victory. A triumph of Southern arms would give the Confederate cause an air of legitimacy in Europe. A Northern victory would just as equally re-establish the antebellum status quo, reinforce the facade that this horrendous Civil War was a simple constitutional disagreement between the states that would be quickly put down by the legitimate government of the United States, and, most importantly, allow Lincoln to issue his Emancipation Proclamation² under the aura of a victory.

The military history of the American Civil War in the east, to date, read as a string of botched Union invasions of the South, with the objective in each case Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the Confederacy. Robert E. Lee, knight of the South, deftly deflected, turned aside,



or simply beat down each attack against his precious charge. Now he was instructed to point his army north and strike deep into the heart of the United States, to water his horses above the Potomac River that flowed through Washington D.C., to assert his nation's will upon the farmers of neutral Maryland and to remind the people of the North that the Confederacy was a force that would not be denied nor ignored.

Accordingly, Lee disengaged the Army of Northern Virginia from contact with the Army of the Potomac (who had maintained an uneasy truce) near Fredericksburg, Virginia and swung west and then north, crossing the Potomac near Leesburg. It would take three days, starting on September 4, before the entire army had reassembled on the other side. Lee's first objective was the Federal garrison at Harper's Ferry; site of John Brown's famous abortive attempt at revolution two years previously. Brown's uprising had been crushed by Captain Robert E. Lee then of the United States Army. Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson, who had escorted a company of VMI cadets on an outing to witness Brown's public execution, would return this September at the head of half of Lee's army and this time he would demand the surrender of Colonel D. S. Miles and the 12,000 United States Volunteers under his command.

Mostly, it was a matter of time.

Harper's Ferry lies within a triangle of land cut from a valley by the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers. The commanding ridges that surround the city were quickly occupied by Jackson's divisions led by Ambrose P. Hill, John R. Jones, Alexander Lawton and John Walker's division on loan from Longstreet's Corps. Once Maryland Heights, Loudon Heights and Bolivar Heights were in Confederate hands the town below would surely fall. The only question was when.

Lee's army, of course, had made its position known to McClellan as soon as the siege of Harper's Ferry began. Colonel Miles, obviously not up to the task of holding the town at all costs while the Army of the Potomac raced to his rescue, capitulated on the morning of September 15 after a token resistance. By then, however, Lee's plans to concentrate his army at Sharpsburg — as described in Special Order No. 191 - were known to McClellan. Now the race would be to that Maryland town that would henceforth be synonymous with the most sanguine day in American history.

McClellan, and the Army of the Potomac, won that race. A thick fog enshrouded Sharpsburg and the hills outside of town on September 16, 1862. To the north, east and southeast of town the Union army was encamped in a vast arc that reached from a bend of the Potomac in the north to where Antietam Creek fed back into the river some six miles to the south. Pressed between the Union army to the east, and the Potomac River to the west, Lee hastily assembled the Army of Northern Virginia. It was clearly the worst position that Lee had ever faced.³

Years later they would say it was the fog that would not lift which saved the Confederate army on September 16, 1862. It was not the fog. It was McClellan's indecision. On this day the Union army had trapped Bobby Lee like a coon up a tree; but not until McClellan waited twenty

four more hours until every unit was in place, victory was assured.

Throughout the night of September 16-17 Confederate officers pushed their commands towards Sharpsburg. Confederate Major General Dan Hill would later write that there was, "enormous straggling. The battle was fought with less than 30,000 men. [The actual number of Confederate troops at Antietam was 37,351 - Ed.] Had all our stragglers been up, McClellan's army would have been completely crushed or annihilated. Doubtless the want of shoes, the want of food, and physical exhaustion had kept many brave men from being with the army..."⁴

The seventeenth dawned so clear and bright that Major General Joseph "Fighting Joe" Hooker, commander of the Union First Corps would report that, "from the sun's rays falling on... (the enemy's)... bayonets projecting above the corn... (I)... could see that the field was filled with the enemy..."⁵ McClellan's plan of attack was to crush the Confederate left by flinging individual corps at it, one at a time. Joe Hooker's corps of veterans, arguably the finest fighting organization in the Army of the Potomac at this time, started the attack shortly after dawn at 6:00 A.M.

The Confederate cannons fired double-shotted cannister into the Union ranks and within minutes "every stalk of corn in the northern and greater part of the field was cut as closely as could have been done with a knife, and the slain lay in rows precisely as they had stood in their ranks a few minutes before."⁶ It would, however, take more than massed artillery to stop this attack spearheaded by the vaunted Iron Brigade composed of the Second, Sixth, Seventh Wisconsin and the Nineteenth Indiana under the command of career officer Brigadier General John Gibbon.⁷ The attack pressed on, past the whitewashed walls of the Dunkard church that was their initial objective.

By 7:30 A.M. the Confederate left was beginning to crumble and Lee threw John Hood's division into the fight. Colonel E. M. Law, one of Hood's brigade commanders, reported, "I found but few of our troops on the field, and these seemed to be in much confusion, but still opposing the advance of the enemy's dense masses with determination. Throwing the brigade at once into line of battle, facing northward, I gave the order to advance."⁸

Hood's counter-attack stopped the Union advance and began to push it back. Mansfield's XII Corps rushed up to relieve Hooker's I Corps and stabilize the line. Their counter-attack fizzled out near the Dunkard Church, as well, with a gain of perhaps a few hundred yards.

McClellan now ordered Sumner's II Corps into the fight. Sumner's attack fell further southeastward than Hooker's. Indeed, for the remainder of the day, as McClellan threw more troops into the fight, the battle spread down, along the Confederate line, until the final attacks of the day would be made on the extreme right flank of Lee.

It is important to remember that Lee enjoyed the advantage of

interior lines of communication. That is to say, Confederate reinforcements located behind the center of Lee's line had a much shorter distance to travel to any part of the Confederate line than McClellan's attackers. Indeed, once a Union corps was committed to a section of the battlefield, it was unable to lend service anywhere else during the day, while Lee was able to juggle his forces to swiftly meet each new threat.

Sumner's attack was badly handled - he threw his divisions in one at a time mimicking the poor tactics of his commander, McClellan - while Lee was able to repel the attack with a collection of reserves drawn from Early's, Walker's and McLaws commands. J.E.B. Stuart's horse artillery to the northwest caught the attacking columns in vicious enfilade. General Sumner was heard to shout, "My God, we must get out of here!" and his corps melted back across the farm fields and out of the battle.

Further south and east Richardson's division, of Sumner's Corps, fell upon the Confederate center, which was holding a sunken road. The road, cut deep by countless farm wagons, provided a ready-made entrenchment for the Southerners who inflicted heavy casualties before being forced back towards Sharpsburg. Lee hastily threw together a line of troops assembled from Dan Hill's division and the remnants of other broken units to protect his center but the fight had gone out of the Union troops who now mingled about the sunken road in shock. Franklin's Union VI Corps was poised to press the attack home, but McClellan never gave the order. Instead "Little Mac" turned his attention further south, to the extreme right flank of the Confederate army, and a bridge that crossed the lethargic Antietam.

Major General Ambrose Burnside (yes, sideburns were named after him) was in command of the Union Left Flank and had been given the instructions to force a crossing of the Antietam with his IX Corps. The slow, meandering, creek is not very deep and the IX Corps could have forded it most anywhere along their front. Burnside's vision, however, was fixed upon a narrow stone bridge that was well covered by Confederate troops stationed on a hill directly opposite.

Throughout the morning the IX Corps' attacks were funneled into the slaughter pen described by the stone walls of the bridge (forever after known as Burnside's Bridge) where the entire might of an army corps was reduced to a front of only six men. It wasn't until 3:00 P.M., and after destroying many fine units, that Ambrose Burnside ordered Colonel (brevet Brigadier General) Ferrero's fresh brigade to storm the bridge.

Ferrero's brigade (Second Brigade, Second Division, IX Corps) contained the legendary 51st New York and the 51st Pennsylvania, famous for their hard-fighting and their equally hard drinking. The liquor rations for these two units had been eliminated recently for disciplinary reasons. When Ferrero asked, "...It is General Burnside's special request

that the two 51sts take that bridge. Will you do it?"...Corporal Lewis Patterson, of Co. I, although a temperate man, exclaimed, "Will you give us our whiskey, Colonel, if we take it?" Colonel Ferrero turned suddenly around to the corporal and replied, "Yes, by God, you shall all have as much as you want, if you take the bridge...if...I have to send to New York to get it, and pay for it out of my own private purse..."⁹ Perhaps it is anticlimactic to report that the two 51sts took the bridge and the hill that commanded its approaches and then calmly stacked arms and brewed coffee while waiting for the rest of the corps to come up.

By now Lee's right, which he had stripped of troops to support the center and left, had collapsed. Though Burnside was slow to exploit the twin 51sts victory at the bridge, eventually the rest of the corps crossed the Antietam and began to pursue the Confederates toward Sharpsburg.

A final crushing victory appeared to be in McClellan's grasp just as Confederate Major General A. P. Hill's division arrived from Harper's Ferry, seventeen miles to the south. In storybook fashion, the reinforcements had arrived, as Hill reported, "not in a moment too soon. The enemy had already advanced in three lines, had broken Jone's division, captured McIntosh's battery, and were in the full tide of success."¹⁰

Hill's counter-attack stopped Burnside's advance cold and, again, Lee was able to hastily construct a semblance of a defensive line. There the battle of Antietam ended, as sunset fell on two armies utterly fought out only a few hundred yards apart.

McClellan had no stomach to continue the fight on the eighteenth. Indeed, George McClellan would never again command troops in the field. Lee, and what was left of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, slipped back across the Potomac later that night; truly to fight again another day.

By the end of September both shattered armies had returned to approximately the same positions they had occupied at the beginning of the month. Little had been gained - Lincoln's now released Emancipation Proclamation, notwithstanding - but, much had been lost. Indeed, since Antietam was not an outright victory for either side, it might best be judged by which forces lost least. Though the Army of the Potomac suffered 12, 410 casualties (14.23%), the Army of Northern Virginia lost 10,318 (27.62%). The North also lost the garrison at Harper's Ferry (about 12,000 men, 13,000 small arms and 73 cannon). The Union, however, could make good their losses from a seemingly endless supply of manpower.

But for the South it would be ten months before Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia had sufficiently healed from the wounds of Antietam and once again swung west, and then north, to invade the United States, taking a new road this time; a road that led to a town called Gettysburg.

Notes:

1) Statistics provided by the Antietam Battlefield National Park. Among the casualties would be Private Mitchell who was grievously wounded at Antietam. Many years after his death his impoverished widow would petition McClellan in vain for a pension. McClellan, deftly side-stepping the issue would reply, "The widow of that soldier should have her pension without a day's delay. Regretting that it is not in my power to give the name of the finder of that order, I am very truly yours, Geo. B. McClellan." - Battles & Leaders Volume II, Page 603.

2) The Emancipation Proclamation is an immensely important document of American history, not only because it abolished the rights of American citizens to own other human beings, but because it clearly states,

" ...all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free..."

In other words, any southern state currently involved in rebellion could retain their slaves if they only returned to the fold of the Union by January 1, 1863.

Lincoln first drafted the Emancipation Proclamation by June 18, 1862 but was unable to issue it until a Union victory. The battle of Antietam was as close to a triumph of Union arms as Lincoln would find in the eastern theater in 1862. Accordingly, the Proclamation was made public five days after the battle.

3) The strategic position of the Army of Northern Virginia on the morning of September 16, 1862 was:

- Behind enemy lines with no direct communications or line of supply back to a secure base.
- Outnumbered by forces at least three times greater in number.
- A large and uncrossable river lay to their rear with only one ford to the south offering a line of retreat.
- The army was dispersed between Mercerville and Harper's Ferry; a distance of over twenty miles as traveled by existing roads.

It is interesting to note that Grant, during the Vicksburg campaign was in a similar, though not identical, situation. Sherman, at the time, pointed out to Grant, "The enemy would maneuver for a year to get you into such a position." "True," Grant replied, "I was now in the enemy's country, with a vast river and the stronghold of Vicksburg between me and my base of supplies. But I was on dry ground on the same side of the river with the enemy. All the campaigns, labors, hardships and exposures... (for the previous six months)... had been made and endured, were for the accomplishment of this one object" - Grant's *Memoirs* pp. 480-481; italics added.

Truly, this was the difference. Grant had crossed his river with the sole purpose of meeting, and defeating, the enemy's army while Lee's strategic plans were considerably more ambiguous. Indeed, neither Special Order No. 191, nor any other surviving document, clearly indicates what Lee's strategic plans were.

Lee found himself on September 16 sending couriers racing after his dispersed forces bearing urgent orders for the scattered units to assemble at Sharpsburg with all haste. Grant's army, however, remained a cohesive fighting organization after crossing the river; and it was looking for the enemy.

4) War of Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Commonly referred to as Official Records) Published by the United States War Department in 1902, XIX, part 1, p. 1026. Though Dan Hill painted an accurate picture of the army's pitiful condition on the eve of battle, he was considerably overly optimistic about its prospects for victory. Antietam would be (the Army of Northern Virginia's) battle for survival its chances for crushing the enemy were slim, at best.

5) Ibid. XIX, Part 1, pp. 218-219.

6) Ibid, p. 219.

7) N.B. The Iron Brigade (Gibbon) and the artillery attached to this brigade (Battery B, Fourth U. S. Artillery) are the only units in the U.M.S. Antietam simulation designated as 'Crack' efficiency. Without exception these two units distinguished themselves in every engagement they fought during the American Civil War; often suffering over 60% casualties. Indeed, these two units have the unenviable record of sustaining the highest casualty rate of any unit in the history of the United States Army. By nightfall of the seventeenth, the Second Wisconsin could only report 19 men present for duty.

Of course, the efficiency rating of these, or any units, in U.M.S. may be changed by using the EDIT ARMY functions. Refer to the **U.M.S. manual for your computer** for detailed instructions.

- 8) Official Records XIX, Part 1, p 937.
- 9) History of the 51st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, Thomas H. Parker, Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1869, pp. 232-239
- 10) Report of Major General A. P. Hill. Official Records XIX, Part 1, p. 981.



Bayonet charge of Hawkin's Zouaves

Army of the Potomac

Major General
George B. McClellan

FIRST ARMY CORPS

Major General Joseph Hooker

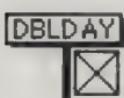
FIRST DIVISION

Brigadier General Rufus King



First Brigade

Col. Walter Phelps, Jr.
505



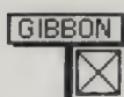
Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. Abner Doubleday
850



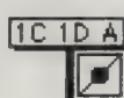
Third Brigade

Brig. Gen. Marsena R. Patrick
765



Fourth Brigade

Brig. Gen. John Gibbon
880



First Division Artillery (A)

New Hampshire Light First Battery
1st Rhode Island Light Battery D
200

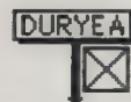


First Division Artillery (B)

1st New York Light Battery L
4th United States Battery B
225

SECOND DIVISION

Brigadier General James B. Ricketts



First Brigade

Brig. Gen. Abram Duryea
1,010

Second Brigade

Col. William A. Christian
1005

Third Brigade

Briga. Gen. George L. Hartsuff
985

Second Division Artillery

1st Pennsylvania Light Battery F
Pennsylvania Light Battery C
158

THIRD DIVISION

Brigadier General George G. Meade



First Brigade

Briga. Gen. Truman Seymour
805

Second Brigade

Col. Albert L. Magilton
895

Third Brigade

Col. Thomas F. Gallagher
830

Third Division Artillery

1st Pennsylvania Light Battery A
1st Pennsylvania Light Battery B
5th United States Battery C
325

SECOND ARMY CORPS

Major General Edwin V. Sumner

FIRST DIVISION

Major General Israel B. Richardson



First Brigade

Brig. Gen. John C. Caldwell
1.325



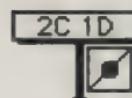
Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. Thomas F. Meagher
1.309



Third Brigade

Col. John R. Brooke
1080



First Division Artillery

1st New York Light Battery B
4th U.S. Batteries A and C
325

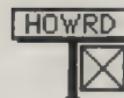
SECOND DIVISION

Major General John Sedgwick



First Brigade

Brig. Gen. Willis A. Gorman
2,125



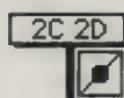
Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. Oliver O. Howard
1.450



Third Brigade

Brig. Gen. Napoleon J. T. Dana
1,527

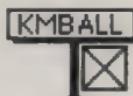
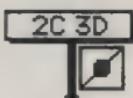


Second Division Artillery

1st Rhode Island Light Battery A
1st United States Battery I
335

THIRD DIVISION

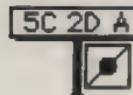
Brigadier General William H. French

**First Brigade**Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball
2,225**Second Brigade**Col. Dwight Morris
1,590**Third Brigade**Brig. Gen. Max Weber
1,610**Third Division Artillery**11st New York Light Battery G
1st Rhode Island Light Battery B
1st Rhode Island Light Battery G
325**FIFTH ARMY CORPS**

Major General Fitz John Porter

SECOND DIVISION

Brigadier General George Sykes

**First Brigade**Lieut. Col. Robert C. Buchanan
834**Second Brigade**Maj. Charles S. Lovell
730**Third Brigade**Col. Gouverneur K. Warren
710**Fifth Corps Artillery (A)**1st United States Batteries E
1st United States Battery G
480



Fifth Corps Artillery (B)
 5th United States Battery I
 5th United States Battery K
 470

SIXTH ARMY CORPS

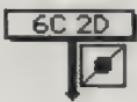
Major General William B. Franklin

SECOND DIVISION

Major General William F. Smith



Third Brigade
 Col. William H. Irwin
 2,585



Sixth Corps Artillery
 Maryland Light Battery B
 New York Light 1st Battery
 150

NINTH ARMY CORPS

Major General Ambrose E. Burnside

FIRST DIVISION

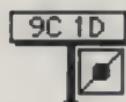
Brigadier General Orlando B. Willcox



First Brigade
 Col. Benjamin C. Christ
 1,450



Second Brigade
 Col. Thomas Welsh
 1,448



First Division Artillery
 Massachusetts Light Eighth Battery
 2nd United States Battery E
 350

SECOND DIVISION

Brigadier General Samuel D. Sturgis



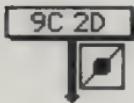
First Brigade

Brig. Gen. James Nagle
1,495



Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. Edward Ferrero
1,484



Second Division Artillery

Pennsylvania Light Battery D
4th United States Battery E
275

THIRD DIVISION

Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman



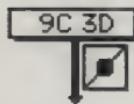
First Brigade

Col. Harrison S. Fairchild
1,375



Second Brigade

Col. Edward Harland
1,414



Third Division Artillery

5th United States
Battery A
125

KANAWHA DIVISION

Brigadier General Jacob D. Cox



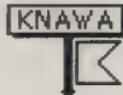
First Brigade

Col. Eliakim P. Scammon
1,325

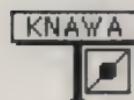


Second Brigade

Col. George Crook
1,229



Kanawha Cavalry
6th New York Cavalry
Ohio Cavalry
Third Independent Company
375



Kanawha Artillery
3rd U.S. Artillery Batteries L and M
225

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS

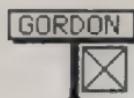
Major General Joseph K. F. Mansfield

FIRST DIVISION

Brigadier General Alpheus S. Williams



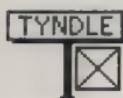
First Brigade
Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Crawford
2,370



Third Brigade
Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon
2,360

SECOND DIVISION

Brigadier General George S. Greene



First Brigade
Lieut. Col. Hector Tyndale
704



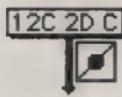
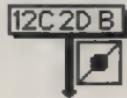
Second Brigade
Col. Henry J. Stainrook
700



Third Brigade
Col. William B. Goodrich
650



Twelfth Corps Artillery (A)
Maine Light 4th Battery
Maine Light 6th Battery
190



Twelfth Corps Artillery (B)
1st New York Light Battery M
New York Light 10th Battery
155

Twelfth Corps Artillery (C)
Pennsylvania Light Battery E
Pennsylvania Light Battery F
4th United States Battery F
105

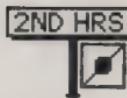
CAVALRY DIVISION

Brigadier General Alfred Pleasonton



First Horse Artillery

2nd United States Battery A
2nd United States Batteries B
2nd United States Batteries L
135



Second Horse Artillery

2nd United States Battery M
2nd United States Battery C
2nd United State Battery G
125

Army of Northern Virginia

General Robert E. Lee
commanding

LONGSTREET'S CORPS

Major General James Longstreet

McLAWS' DIVISION

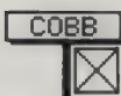
Major General Lafayette McLaws



Kershaw's Brigade
Brig. Gen. J. G. Kershaw
725



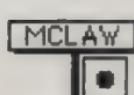
Semmes' Brigade
Brig. Gen. Paul J. Semmes
750



Cobb's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Howell Cobb
745



Barksdale's Brigade
Brig. Gen. William Barksdale
740



McLaw's Division Artillery
Manly's Battery
Pulaski Artillery
Richmond Artillery
Richmond Howitzers
Troup Artillery
235

ANDERSON'S DIVISION

Major General Richard H. Anderson



Wilcox's Brigade
Col. Alfred Cumming
725



Armistead's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Lewis A. Armistead
675



Mahone's Brigade
Col. William A. Parham
690



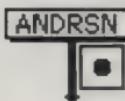
Pryor's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Roger A. Pryor
750



Featherston's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Winfield S. Featherston
510



Wright's Brigade
Brig. Gen. A. R. Wright
450



Anderson's Division Artillery
Donaldsonville Artillery
Huger's Battery
Moorman's Battery
Thompson's Battery
235

JONES' DIVISION

Brigadier General David R. Jones



Toombs' Brigade
Brig. Gen. Robert Toombs
590



Drayton's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Thomas F. Drayton
530



Kemper's Brigade
Brig. Gen. J. L. Kemper
520



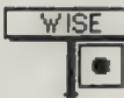
Anderson's Brigade
Col. George T. Anderson
550



Pickett's Brigade
Col. Eppa Hunton
580



Jenkins' Brigade
Col. Joseph Walker
570



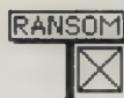
Wise Artillery
150

WALKER'S DIVISION

Brigadier General John G. Walker



Walker's Brigade
Col. Van H. Manning
2,010



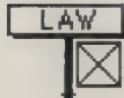
Ransom's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Robert Ransom, Jr.
1,090

HOOD'S DIVISION

Brigadier General John B. Hood



Hood's Brigade
Col. W. T. Wofford
1,705



Law's Brigade
Col. E. M. Law
1,600



Hood's Division Artillery
 German Artillery
 Palmetto Artillery
 Rowan Artillery
 225



Evans' Brigade
 Brig. Gen. Nathan G. Evans
 399

CORPS ARTILLERY



Washington Artillery
 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Companies
 Col. Walton
 286



Lee's Battalion
 Col. S. D. Lee
 Ashland Artillery
 Bedford Artillery
 Brooks Artillery
 Eubank's Battery
 Madison Light Artillery
 Parker's Battery
 310

JACKSON'S CORPS

Major General Thomas J. Jackson

EWELL'S DIVISION

Brigadier General A. R. Lawton



Lawton's Brigade
 Col. M. Douglass
 1,100



Trimble's Brigade
 Col. James A. Walker
 1,005



Early's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Jubal A. Early
975



Hay's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Harry T. Hays
1,047



Ewell's Division Artillery
Chesapeake Artillery
Courtney Artillery
Johnson's Battery
Louisiana Artillery
First Maryland Battery
Staunton Artillery
375

HILL'S LIGHT DIVISION

Major General Ambrose P. Hill



Branch's Brigade
Brig. Gen. L. O.B. Branch
415



Archer's Brigade
Brig. Gen. J. J. Archer
505



Gregg's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Maxcy Gregg
745



Pender's Brigade
Brig. Gen. William D. Pender
450



Field's Brigade
Col. Brockenbrough
475



Thomas' Brigade
Col. Edward L. Thomas
488

LIGHT

E'WELL

**Hill's Division Artillery**

Crenshaw's Battery
 Fredericksburg Artillery
 Letcher Artillery
 Pee Dee Artillery
 Purcell Artillery
 235

JACKSON'S DIVISION

Brigadier General John R. Jones

W'INDER

**Winder's Brigade**

Col. A. J. Grigsby
 510

JONES

**Jones' Brigade**

Col. B. T. Johnson
 495

TLFRRO

**Taliferro's Brigade**

Col. E. T. H. Warren
 465

STARKE

**Starke's Brigade**

Brig. Gen. William E. Starke
 459

JCKSN

**Jackson's Division Artillery**

Alleghany Artillery
 Brockenbrough's Battery
 Danville Artillery
 Hampden Artillery
 Lee Battery
 Rockbridge Artillery
 335

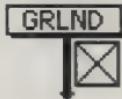
HILL'S DIVISION

Major General Daniel H. Hill

RIPLEY

**Ripley's Brigade**

Brig. Gen. Roswell S. Ripley
 1,475



Garland's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Samuel Garland, Jr.
1,320



Rodes' Brigade
Brig. Gen. R. E. Rodes
1,110



Anderson's Brigade
Brig. Gen. George B. Anderson
975



Colquitt's Brigade
Col. A. H. Colquitt
720



Hill's Division Artillery
Hardaway's Battery
Jeff. Davis Artillery
Jones' Battery
King William Artillery
195

RESERVE ARTILLERY

Brigadier General William N. Pendleton



Brown's Battalion
Col. J. Thompson Brown
Powhatan Artillery
Richmond Howitzers
2nd & 3rd Companies
Salem Artillery
Williamsburg Artillery
125



Jones' Battalion
Maj. H. P. Jones
Morris Artillery
Orange Artillery
Turner's Battery
Wimbish's Battery
105



Cutts' Battalion
 Lieut. Col. A. S. Cutts
 Blackshears' Battery
 Irwin Artillery
 Lloyd's Battery
 Patterson's Battery
 Ross's Battery
 160



Nelson's Battalion
 Amherst Artillery
 Fluvanna Artillery
 Huckstep's Battery
 Johnson's Battery
 Milledge Artillery
 105



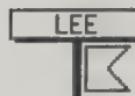
Reserve
 Cutshaw's Battery
 Dixie Artillery
 Magruder Artillery
 Rice's Battery
 105

CAVALRY DIVISION

Maj. Gen. James E. B. Stuart



Hampton's Brigade
 Brig. Gen. Wade Hampton
 1st North Carolina Cavalry
 2nd South Carolina Cavalry
 10th Virginia Cavalry
 Cobb's (Georgia) Legion
 Jeff. Davis Legion
 1,500



Lee's Brigade
 Brig. Gen. Fitz. Lee
 1st Virginia Cavalry
 3rd Virginia Cavalry
 4th Virginia Cavalry
 5th Virginia Cavalry
 9th Virginia Cavalry
 1,350

**Robertson's Brigade**

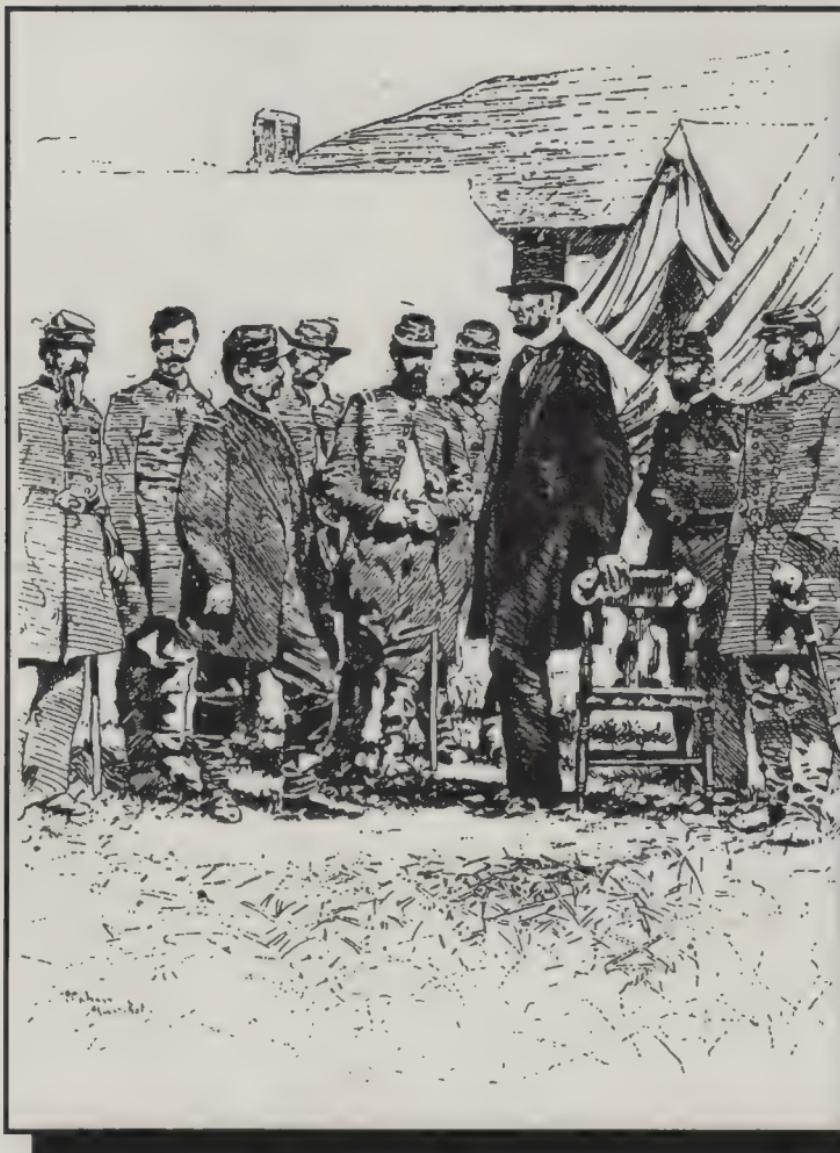
Brig. Gen. B. H. Robertson
(Col. Thomas T. Munford)
2nd Virginia Cavalry
6th Virginia Cavalry
7th Virginia Cavalry
12th Virginia Cavalry
17th Virginia Cavalry Battalion
1,350

**Horse Artillery**

Capt. John Pelham
Chew's (Virginia) Battery
Hart's (South Carolina) Battery
Pelham's (Virginia) Battery
195



Bumside's Bridge



President Lincoln with Major General George B. McClellan
at Antietam after the battle.

CHATTANOOGA

NOVEMBER 23-25 1863

GRANT-BRAGG

"Almost up.

I was almost up.

But for...(this mortal wound)...

I would have reached the top.

Almost up."

*-The last words of a Union soldier
when asked where he was hit.¹*

§

On the evening of Friday, October 23, 1863, a mud-splashed Union horseman, on an urgent mission from Secretary of War Stanton, rode down from Walden's Ridge on a road, "strewn with the debris of broken wagons and the carcasses of thousands of starved mules and horses"² and entered the besieged city of Chattanooga. It had taken him two days to travel the sixty miles while a downpour lashed across a desolate landscape "unutterably barren"³ and populated only by fleeing refugees who were "exposed to the beatings of the storm, wet and shivering with cold."⁴ He dismounted before the plain, wooden one-story house on Walnut Street that served as the headquarters of the Army of the Cumberland, and introduced himself to its commander, General George "Pap" Thomas, before he pulled a chair up to the fire and lit a cigar. The next morning's dispatch to the War Department began with the words, "Grant arrived last night, wet, dirty, and well."⁵

"We will hold this town till we starve"⁶ Thomas had wired Grant a few days previously and it was not an idle boast because there were but five days' rations on hand with the only line of supply the path across Walden's Ridge that Grant had just traveled. At West Point he had been taught that any besieged city must fall within forty days - a military rule of thumb that his recent success at Vicksburg seemed to



bear out - and now Grant had precious few days to crack the Confederate lines atop Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain that choked off all communications with the outside world. Confederate General Bragg said his strong natural position could have been "held by a skirmish line against any assault column"; Grant, himself, was tempted to call the line impregnable.⁸

Chattanooga lies in a valley pressed against the Tennessee River to the north and west and under the shadow of Lookout Mountain to the south and Missionary Ridge to the east. Following their defeat at Chickamauga, on September 20, 1863, the Union Army of the Cumberland retreated into the city while the victorious Confederate Army of the Tennessee occupied the highground surrounding the town. The Army of the Cumberland sat in the middle of a stout box that had only two exits: north, across the Tennessee River and Walden's Ridge, or east, over the top of Missionary Ridge where two Confederate corps were entrenched.

Washington, deeply concerned about the possible fall of Chattanooga, detached parts of the Army of the Potomac's Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, placed them under the command of General Hooker and sent them west by rail to reinforce the garrison at Chattanooga. Grant realizing that, "it would have been folly to have sent them to Chattanooga to help eat up the few rations left",⁹ placed them at the railhead in Bridgeport where they could be supplied. Grant's immediate problem was to create a secure supply line, a "cracker line" he called it, to the outside world. The Army of the Cumberland was clearly in no condition to fight a major battle. The briefing given to Grant, a few minutes after his arrival at Thomas' headquarters, included the grim details of an army with ammunition "barely enough...to fight one day's battle"¹⁰, virtually no horses for transport or moving artillery, and men starved from living on half rations. If Grant was to open his "cracker line" it would have to be done with finesse.

Seventy eight hours after Grant took command at Chattanooga, a silent fleet of fifty pontoon boats, each carrying twenty-five men from Hazen's brigade, cast off from the city's wharf. The tiny flotilla drifted with the current of the river, the troops as silent as the tomb, "not a man moved, except the fellow who did the guiding of the boat and he lay flat down and used only a small paddle."¹¹ An hour and a half later, at 4:30 A.M., the expedition pulled up at Brown's Ferry, overpowered the surprised Confederate pickets guarding this strategic crossing, and lit signal bonfires for their comrades on the opposite shore.

Hazen's men came equipped with picks and axes to construct an abatis to protect them from the inevitable Confederate counterattack which was launched with much zeal¹² but little planning or coordination. The Confederate attempt to dislodge Hazen's brigade sputtered out by dawn and Union reinforcements poured across the river on a

hastily constructed pontoon bridge.

By late afternoon Grant's "cracker line" had been established. "...The way was open to Bridgeport, and, with the aid of steamers and Hooker's teams, in a week the troops were receiving full rations. It is hard for any one not an eye-witness to realize the relief this brought. The men were soon reclothed and well fed; an abundance of ammunition was brought up... Neither officers nor men looked upon themselves any longer as doomed."¹³ Grant was now able to move Hooker's corps up from Bridgeport and order Sherman's Army of the Tennessee to Chattanooga for the pending assaults on the Confederate fortifications.

The first movement against the Confederates on the heights began the morning of Monday, November 23, 1863. Attempting to gain some maneuvering room, Grant had ordered Thomas to seize the Confederate rifle pits situated midway between Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge. Except for the Union headquarters staff observing the preparations from Fort Wood, on the eastern parapets, few were aware that an attack was imminent. A unit historian later wrote, "the boys of the Sixth Indiana...remember that we thought we were only out for the purpose of brigade drill."¹⁴ The whole affair went down as neatly as if it had been on a parade ground. By 2:00 P.M., General Wood leading the advance, signalled back to the general staff, "I have carried the first line of enemy entrenchments." Thomas hurried up more troops and artillery support to secure the day's gains while the Confederates sullenly pulled back to the security of the ridge.

Grant ordered two attacks the next day: Sherman was instructed to assault the northern end of Missionary Ridge while Hooker, five miles to the south, was to "make a demonstration" against Lookout Mountain. That night the pontoon bridge at Brown's Ferry was washed out by the rising river and stranded one of Sherman's three divisions, commanded by Pete Osterhaus, on the wrong side of the river. Unable to move Osterhaus' division to Sherman on the extreme left flank, Grant, instead, reassigned the division to Hooker's corps and upgraded the demonstration against the mountain to a full-out assault on the peak itself.

Hooker's corps was drawn up in a line of battle shortly after dawn and the troops were informed of what was expected of them. A soldier of the 149th New York remembered, "The men had not breakfasted and this announcement took away their appetites." Nonetheless, the blue columns gamely advanced towards the mountain as a bank of clouds descended, obscuring the view of Grant and his staff at Orchard Knob.

The attack had a much greater chance of success than the hapless New Yorkers realized. The Union had a preponderance of numbers and the Confederate forces were badly led and poorly positioned. Grant later wrote, "Why any troops except artillery, with a small infantry guard, were kept on the mountain-top, I do not see. A hundred men could have held the summit - which is a palisade for more than thirty feet down -

against the assault of any number of men from the position Hooker occupied.¹⁵

It was General Meigs, Grant's Quartermaster, who coined the majestic, if not precisely accurate, phrase: "The Battle Above the Clouds." Hooker's advance was followed during the day by the sound of artillery and small arms. At 2:00 P.M. the cloud ceiling dropped even lower and Hooker temporarily suspended operations, but two hours later he sent word back to Orchard Knob that he had captured most of the breastworks, was well up the mountain side and his position was "impregnable." The Confederates abandoned what was left of their position after midnight and pulled back to the southern tip of Missionary Ridge.

Meanwhile, Sherman's attack on the left was going well, though not quite successful as Grant had hoped. In a maneuver reminiscent of the capture of Brown's Ferry, a small amphibious force had grabbed a bridgehead on the far side of the Tennessee River and secured it. By 1:00 P.M. that afternoon Sherman's troops had finished crossing and begun their attack on the Confederate right flank. After sprinting about half a mile over an empty field they slammed into Pat Cleburne's Confederates defending the northern edge of the ridge line and Tunnel Hill, a separate elevation directly to the north of Missionary Ridge. Throughout the day furious attacks and counterattacks rolled over the western slopes as both sides fought for control of the crest.

Sherman's assault was for the purpose of drawing troops away from Bragg's left and center. When the activity on the northern end of Missionary Ridge appeared to subside to Grant, from his vantage point on Orchard Knob, he signalled Sherman to renew the assault. Sherman, who had already thrown a good many men at the Confederate entrenchments, told a staff officer, "Go signal Grant. The orders were that I should get as many as possible in front of me and God knows there are enough. They've been reinforcing all day."¹⁶

That night, Grant's daily report to Washington started, "The fight today progressed favorably. Sherman carried the end of Missionary Ridge... Troops from Lookout Valley carried the point of the mountain, and now hold the eastern slope and a point high up. Hooker reports two thousand prisoners taken..."¹⁷

Wednesday, November 25, 1863 dawned theatrical and the theme would be carried throughout the day towards a finale worthy of the scope of the stage upon which it was played. Six volunteers from the Eighth Kentucky, uncertain if any Rebel defenders were still about, had scampered to the top of Lookout Mountain and unfurled a colossal United States flag in the first rays of the morning sun. Visible for miles, a great cheer rumbled across the Union camps in the valley below.

Grant's plan for this day, the culmination of all his efforts for the last month, was for Sherman to strike hard from his toehold at the north of

Missionary Ridge while Hooker pushed up from Lookout Mountain in the south. One or the other assault was bound to roll up the Confederate position, Grant reasoned, while Bragg would be compelled to weaken one flank to support the other. It was a good plan - it didn't work - and, in the end, it didn't matter.

Contrary to Grant's wire to the War Department of the previous night, Sherman was not in possession of the end of Missionary Ridge. Instead he held part of a detached hill to the north and his assaulting columns would actually have to charge down one slope and then up another before reaching their objective. Hooker, too, who was scheduled for an earlier morning attack, would be totally unable to reach his start line by his specified time.

By early afternoon, with the attack on the right still to materialize, and Sherman's assault on the left completely stalled in the intervening gully, Grant ordered Thomas, in the center, to "carry the rifle pits at the foot of Missionary Ridge, and when carried to reform his lines on the rifle pits with a view to carrying the ridge."

Thomas arranged his corps of over 20,000 men in three long lines that stretched more than a mile from end to end. This day was as clear as the previous had been misty and "this grand military spectacle" was visible the length of the valley.

"A scene never to be forgotten - a panorama to stir the blood into a wild tumult," later wrote Edwin W. Payne of the 34th Illinois.

"One of the grandest spectacles ever seen", said Captain John W. Tuttle of the Third Kentucky.

"(An experience) never to be encountered twice in one lifetime," reported Sylvanus Cadwallader of the press.

"The grandest sight I ever saw," recollected Major James Connelly.

"The grand panorama," remembered Grant.

It was also an unstoppable charge. The Confederate artillery fire did little real damage to the attackers as they marched over the intervening ground. Three hundred yards distant from the rifle pits the Union troops broke into a dead run. They poured into the Confederate trenches yelling, "Chickamauga" and bayonetting the defenders that wouldn't surrender or flee up Missionary Ridge.

With their own troops having abandoned the rifle pits, the Confederate gunners on the ridge crest were now free to depress the muzzles of their cannons and aim their fire at the Union troops directly below. "Our only hope was to charge the hill," stated a Union officer, and, without waiting to reform into assault columns, the men in the rifle pits started up.

"The ground was so broken that it was impossible to keep a regular line of battle. At times their movements were in shape like the flight of migratory birds- sometimes in line, sometimes in mass, mostly in V-shaped groups, with the points toward the enemy. At the points regimental flags were flying, sometimes drooping as the bearers were shot, but never reaching the ground. Sixty flags were advancing up the

hill."¹⁸ A race was with, "a sharp rivalry...between several regiments...as to which should reach the summit first."¹⁹

The charge was a "smashing success." The Confederate defenders broke and raced down the western slopes leaving the victorious attackers in possession of the ridge. Some Yankees "straddled the captured cannons 'completely and frantically drunk with excitement,'"²⁰ while others simply fell to their knees and wept. Bragg wrote in his after action report, "A panic which I had never before witnessed seemed to have seized upon officers and men, and each seemed to be struggling for his personal safety, regardless of his duty or his character."²¹ The Confederate army melted away, vigorously pursued by Sheridan.

Grant had accomplished everything he had meant to do that day a little over a month before when he rode down out of a storm on Walden's Ridge. The siege was lifted and an enemy army routed. Union casualties, too, were quite light (Confederate prisoners outnumbered Union dead by 551%).²²

Long after the war, Sherman would say to a reporter, "It was a great victory - the neatest and cleanest battle I was ever in - and Grant deserves the credit of it all."²³

Notes:

- 1) The story of the dying Union soldier and the volunteer from the Christian Commission (a charitable organization that often staffed field hospitals during the Civil War) has been retold many times and appears in *Grant Takes Command* by Bruce Catton (1968, Little Brown & Co., p. 85) and *Chattanooga - A Death Grip on the Confederacy* by James Lee McDonough (1984, The University of Tennessee Press, p. 216). Catton cites Montgomery Meigs' *Journal of the Battle of Chattanooga*, James A. Connolly's *Three Years in the Army of the Cumberland* (pp. 158-159) and General O. O. Howard's "Grant at Chattanooga" in his *Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion* (Vol. I, p. 253). The soldier was wounded during the assault on the summit of Missionary Ridge. The nurse, of course, was inquiring as to where the injury was on his body, but the soldier, "still gripped by the transcendent excitement of the charge" could only think of how near the crest he had been before being struck down.

- 2) Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant, reprinted in Battles & Leaders Vol.III, p. 684.
- 3) Grant Takes Command p. 38.
- 4) Letter from John Rawlins to fiancee Mary Emma Hurlbut quoted by Catton, *ibid.*, p. 38.
- 5) Campaigning with Grant, by General Horace Porter, The Blue and Grey Press, p. 2
- 6) Battles & Leaders p.683.
- 7) *ibid.* p. 727.
- 8) *ibid.* footnote p. 693. "In the course of the preparation of this paper we asked General Grant... (if)... Bragg doubtless thought his position impregnable, the Victor of Chattanooga answered, with a shrewed look that accented the humour of his words: 'Well, it was impregnable.' - Editors (of Battles & Leaders)."
- 9) *ibid.* p. 687.
- 10) Campaigning with Grant p. 5
- 11) Chattanooga - A Death Grip on the Confederacy p. 79
- 12) Colonel William C. Oates, leading the Confederate attack against the Union bridgehead at Brown's Ferry, ordered his officers, "to deploy their men at one pace apart and instruct them to walk right up to the foe, and for every man to place the muzzle of his rifle against the body of a Yankee when he fired. Away they went in the darkness." - *ibid* p. 82. This curious tactic, though unlikely if followed to the letter, proved initially effective.
- 13) Grant writing in Battles & Leaders p.689.
- 14) Chattanooga - A Death Grip on the Confederacy p. 111
- 15) Grant writing in Battles & Leaders p.703.
- 16) Chattanooga - A Death Grip on the Confederacy p. 159
- 17) Battles & Leaders p.704.
- 18) Brigadier General Joseph S. Fullerton, Asst. Adj.-Gen., 4th U.S. Army Corps. Battles & Leaders p.725.
- 19) Colonel John A. Martin, 8th Kansas Volunteers; footnote *ibid* p. 726

- 20) Grant Takes Command p. 84.
- 21) Battles & Leaders p.727.
- 22) Numbers and Losses in the American Civil War 1861-65, Thomas L. Livermore 87th Reprinting, Momingside House, Inc. Dayton Ohio, 1986. Union killed: 753; Confederate missing: 4,146. pp107-108.
- 23) James R. Rusling, Men and Things I saw in Civil War Days .. p. 147 as footnoted in Grant Takes Command p. 93.



Assault on Lookout Mountain

ORGANIZATION OF THE FORCES UNDER COMMAND OF Major General U.S. Grant

ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND

Major General George H. Thomas

FOURTH ARMY CORPS

Major General Gordon Granger

FIRST DIVISION

Brigadier General Charles Crufft



Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. Walter C. Whitaker
2,275



Third Brigade

Col. William Grose
2,264

SECOND DIVISION

Major General Philip H. Sheridan



First Brigade

Col. Francis T. Sherman
2,190



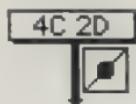
Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. George D. Wagner
2,170



Third Brigade

Col. Charles G. Harker
2,206

**Division Artillery**

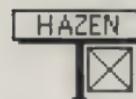
Capt. Warren P. Edgerton
 1st Illinois Light, Battery M
 Capt. George W. Spencer
 10th Indiana Battery
 Capt. William A. Naylor
 1st Missouri Light, Battery G
 Lieut. Gustavus Schueler
 249

THIRD DIVISION

Brigadier General Thomas J. Wood

**First Brigade**

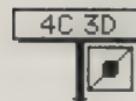
Brig. Gen. August Willich
 2,280

**Second Brigade**

Brig. Gen. William B. Hazen
 2,270

**Third Brigade**

Brig. Gen. Samuel Beatty
 2,288

**Division Artillery**

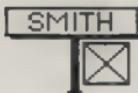
Capt. Cullen Bradley
 Illinois Light, Bridges' Battery
 Capt. Lyman Bridges
 6th Ohio Battery
 Lieut. Oliver H. P. Ayres
 20th Ohio Battery
 Capt. Edward Grosskopff
 Pennsylvania Light, Battery B
 Lieut. Samuel M. McDowell
 377

ELEVENTH ARMY CORPS

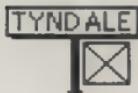
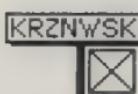
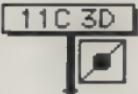
Major General Oliver O. Howard

SECOND DIVISION

Brigadier General Adolph von Steinwehr

**First Brigade**Col. Adolphus Buschbeck
1,750**Second Brigade**Col. Orland Smith
1,726**THIRD DIVISION**

Major General Carl Schurz

**First Brigade**Brig. Gen. Hector Tyndale
1,050**Second Brigade**Col. Wladimir Krzyzanowski
1,025**Third Brigade**Col. Frederick Hecker
1,065**Division Artillery (A)**Maj. Thomas W. Osborn
1st New York Light, Battery I
Capt. Michael Wiedrich
New York Light, 13th Battery
Capt. William Wheeler
1st Ohio Light, Battery I
Capt. Hubert Dilger
275

**Division Artillery (B)**

1st Ohio Light, Battery K

Lieut. Nicholas Sahn

4th United States, Battery G

Lieut. Christopher F. Merkle

273

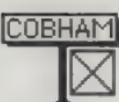
TWELFTH ARMY CORPS**SECOND DIVISION**

Brigadier General John W. Geary

**First Brigade**

Col. Charles Candy

1,370

**Second Brigade**

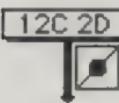
Col. George A. Cobham, Jr.

1,368

**Third Brigade**

Col. David Ireland

1,365

**Division Artillery**

Maj. John A. Reynolds

Pennsylvania Light, Battery E

Lieut. James D. McGill

5th United States, Battery K

Capt. Edmund C. Bainbridge

192

FOURTEENTH ARMY CORPS

Major General John M. Palmer

FIRST DIVISION

Brigadier General Richard W. Johnson

**First Brigade**

Brig. Gen. William P. Carlin

1,790



Second Brigade
Col. Marshall F. Moore
1,785



Third Brigade
Brig. Gen. John C. Starkweather
1,790



Division Artillery
1st Illinois Light, Battery C
Capt. Mark H. Prescott
1st Michigan Light, Battery A
Capt. Francis E. Hale
5th United States, Battery H
Capt. Francis L. Guenther
282

SECOND DIVISION

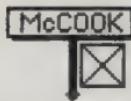
Brigadier General Jefferson C. Davis



First Brigade
Brig. Gen. James D. Morgan
2,010



Second Brigade
Brig. Gen. John Beatty
2,005



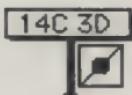
Third Brigade
Col. Daniel McCook
2,011



Division Artillery
Capt. William A. Hotchkiss
2nd Illinois Light, Battery I
Lieut. Henry B. Plant
Minnesota Light, 2nd Battery
Lieut. Richard L. Dawley
Wisconsin Light, 5th Battery
Capt. George Q. Gardner
316

THIRD DIVISION

Brigadier General Absalom Baird

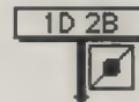
**First Brigade**Brig. Gen. John B Turchin
2,080**Second Brigade**Col. Ferdinand Van Derveer
2,075**Third Brigade**Col. Edward H. Phelps
2,068**Division Artillery**Capt. George R. Swallow
Indiana Light, 7th Battery
Lieut. Otho H. Morgan
Indiana Light, 19th Battery
Lieut. Robert G. Lackey
4th United States, Battery I
Lieut. Frank G. Smith
352**ARTILLERY RESERVE**

Brigadier General John M. Brannan

FIRST DIVISION

Colonel James Barnett

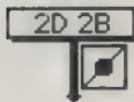
**First Brigade**Maj. Charles S. Cotter
1st Ohio Light, Battery B
Lieut. Norman A. Baldwin
1st Ohio Light, Battery C
Capt. Marco B. Gary
1st Ohio Light, Battery E
Lieut. Albert G. Ransom
1st Ohio Light, Battery F
Lieut. Giles J. Cockerill
375

**Second Brigade**

1st Ohio Light, Battery G
 Capt. Alexander Marshall
 1st Ohio Light, Battery M
 Capt. Frederick Schultz
 Ohio Light, 18th Battery
 Lieut. Joseph Mc Cafferty
 Ohio Light, 20th Battery
 Capt. Edward Grosskopff
 375

SECOND DIVISION**First Brigade**

Capt. Josiah W. Church
 1st Michigan Light, Battery D
 Capt. Josiah w. Church
 1st Tennessee Light, Battery A
 Lieut. Albert F. Beach
 Wisconsin Light, 3d Battery
 Lieut. Hiram F. Hubbard
 Wisconsin Light, 8th Battery
 Lieut. Obadiah German
 Wisconsin Light, 10th Battery
 Capt. Yates V. Beebe
 370

**Second Brigade**

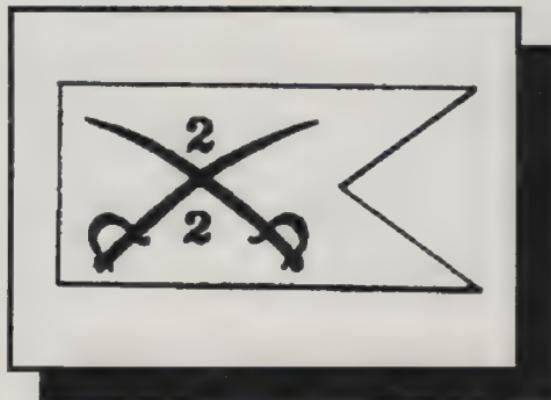
Capt. Arnold Sutermeister
 Indiana Light, 4th Battery
 Lieut. Henry J. Willits
 Indiana Light, 8th Battery
 Lieut. George Estep
 Indiana Light, 11th Battery
 Capt. Arnold Sutermeister
 Indiana Light, 21st Battery
 Lieut. William E. Chess
 1st Wisconsin Heavy, Company C
 Capt. John R. Davies
 375

CAVALRY

SECOND DIVISION



Second Brigade
Colonel Eli Long
98th Illinois
Lieut. Col. Edward Kitchell
17th Indiana
Lieut. Col. Henry Jordan
2nd Kentucky
Col. Thomas P. Nicholas
4th Michigan
Maj. Horace Gray
1st Ohio
Maj. Thomas J. Patten
3rd Ohio
Lieut. Col. Charles B. Seidel
4th Ohio
Maj. George W. Dobb
10th Ohio
Col. Charles C. Smith
1,100



ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

Major General William T. Sherman

FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS

Major General Frank P. Blair, Jr.

FIRST DIVISION

Brigadier General Peter J. Osterhous



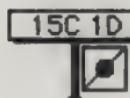
First Brigade

Brig. Gen. Charles R. Woods
1,870



Second Brigade

Col. James A. Williamson
1,864



Division Artillery

Capt. Henry H. Griffiths
Iowa Light, 1st Battery
Lieut. James M. Williams
2nd Missouri Light, Battery F
Capt. Clemens Landgraeber
Ohio Light, 4th Battery
Capt. George Froehlich
200

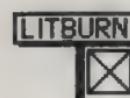
SECOND DIVISION

Brigadier General Morgan L. Smith



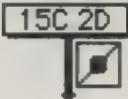
First Brigade

Brig. Gen. Giles A. Smith
1,501



Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. Joseph A.J. Lightburn
1,500

**Division Artillery**

1st Illinois Light, Battery A

Capt. Peter P. Wood

1st Illinois Light, Battery B

Capt. Israel P. Rumsey

1st Illinois Light, Battery H

Lieut. Francis De Gress

264

FOURTH DIVISION

Brigadier General Hugh Ewing

**First Brigade**

Col. John M. Loomis

1,795

**Second Brigade**

Brig. Gen. John M. Corse

1,795

**Third Brigade**

Col. Joseph R. Cockerill

1,795

**Division Artillery**

Capt. Henry Richardson

1st Illinois Light, Battery F

Capt. John T. Cheney

1st Illinois Light, Battery I

Lieut. Josiah h. Burton

1st Missouri Light, Battery D

Lieut. Byron M. Callender

215

SEVENTEENTH ARMY CORPS**SECOND DIVISION**

Brigadier General John E. Smith

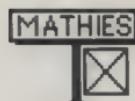
**First Brigade**

Col. Jesse I. Alexander

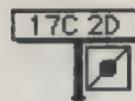
1,220



Second Brigade
Col. Green B. Raum
1,210



Third Brigade
Brig. Gen. Charles L. Matthies
1,191



Division Artillery
Capt. Henry Dillon
Cogswell's Battery
Capt. William Cogswell
Wisconsin Light, 6th Battery
Lieut. Samuel F. Clark
Wisconsin Light, 12th Battery
Capt. William Zickerick

288

Note:

This Order of Battle Table and troop strengths was compiled using
*War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the
Union and Confederate Armies* Part I, XLIII Report No. 2.



ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

General Braxton Bragg commanding

HARDEE'S CORPS

General William Hardee commanding

CHEATHAM'S DIVISION

General B. Franklin Cheatham commanding



Jackson's Brigade

1,750

Moore's Brigade

1,745

Walthall's Brigade

1,747

Artillery

Major Melancthon Smith

Alabama Battery

Capt. William H. Fowler

Florida Battery

Capt. Robert P. McCants

Georgia Battery

Capt. John Scogin

Mississippi Batter (Smith's)

Lieut. William B. Turner 225

HINDMAN'S DIVISION

General Thomas C. Hindman commanding

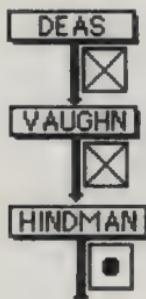


Anderson's Brigade

1,390

Manigault's Brigade

1,385

**Dear's Brigade**

1,380

Vaughan's Brigade

1,380

Artillery Battalion

Major Alfred R. Courtney

Alabama Battery

Capt. S. H. Dent

Alabama Battery

Capt. James Garrity

Tennessee Battery (Scott's)

Lieut. John Doscher

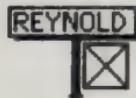
Alabama Battery (Water's)

Lieut. William B. Hamilton

250

BUCKNER'S DIVISION

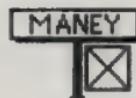
General Simon Bolivar Buckner commanding

**Reynold's Brigade**

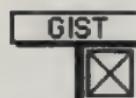
1,900

WALKER'S DIVISION

General W.H.T. Walker commanding

**Maney's Brigade**

1,010

**Gist's Brigade**

1,005

**Wilson's Brigade**

1,002



Artillery Battalion
 Major Robert Martin
 Missouri Battery
 Capt. Hiram M. Bledsoe
 South Carolina Battery
 Capt. T. B. Ferguson
 Georgia Battery
 Capt. Evan P. Howell
 275

BRECKINRIDGE'S ARMY CORPS

General John C. Breckinridge commanding

CLEBURNE'S DIVISION

General Patrick R. Cleburne commanding



Liddell's Brigade
 1,245

Polk's Brigade
 1,240

Smith's Brigade
 1,240

Lowerey's Brigade
 1,238

Artillery Battalion
 Major T. R. Hotchkiss
 Arkansas Battery (Calvert's)

Lieut. Thomas J. Key
 Texas Battery
 Capt. James P. Douglas
 Alabama Battery (Semple's)
 Lieut. Richard W. Goldthwaite
 Mississippi Battery (Swett's)
 Lieut. H. Shannon

250

STEWART'S DIVISION

General Alexander P. Stewart commanding



Adam's Brigade

945

Strahl's Brigade

940

Clayton's Brigade

940

Stovall's Brigade

946

Artillery Battalion

Capt. Henry C. Semple

Georgia Battery (Dawson's)

Lieut. R. W. Anderson

Arkansas Battery (Humphreys')

Lieut. John W. Rivers

Alabama Battery

Capt. McDonald Oliver

Mississippi Battery

Capt. Thomas J. Stanford

225

BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION



Lewis' Brigade

970

Bate's Brigade

965

Florida Brigade

979



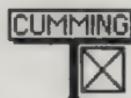
Artillery Battalion
 Capt. C. H. Slocomb
 Kentucky Battery (Cobb's)
 Lieut. Frank P. Gracey
 Tennessee Battery
 Capt. John W. Mebane
 Louisiana Battery (Slocomb's)
 Lieut. W. C. D. Vaught
 200

STEVENSON'S DIVISION

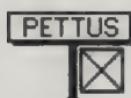
General Carter Stevenson commanding



Brown's Brigade
 725



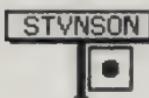
Cumming's Brigade
 720



Pettus's Brigade
 715



Vaughn's Brigade
 717



Artillery Battalion
 Capt. Robert Cobb
 Tennessee Battery
 Capt. Edmund D. Baxter
 Tennessee Battery
 Capt. William W. Carnes
 Georgia Battery
 Capt. Max Van Den Corput
 Georgia Battery
 Capt. John B. Rowan
 225

**Reserve Artillery**

Maj. Felix H. Robertson

Missouri Battery

Capt. Overton W. Barret

Georgia Battery (Havis')

Lieut. James R. Duncan

Alabama Battery (Lumsden's)

Lieut. Harvey H. Cribbs

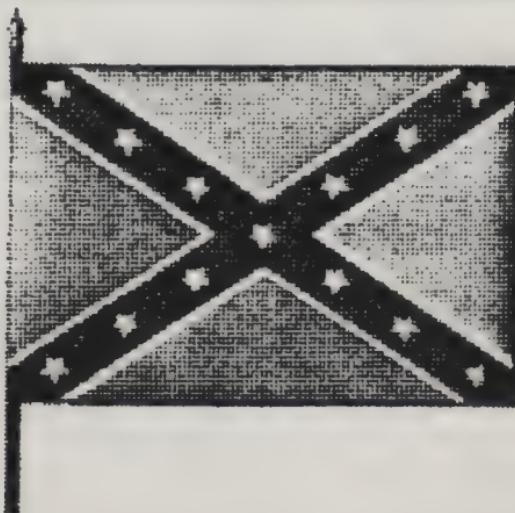
Georgia Battery

Capt. Thomas L. Massenburg.

332

Note:

This Order of Battle Table and troop strengths was compiled using *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* Part I, XLIII Reports No. 217 and No. 218. Report No. 217 contains the returns for the Army of Tennessee on October 31, 1863 while No. 218 contains the returns for December 10, 1863.



TECHNICAL NOTES

SHILOH

The map of Shiloh has been rotated ninety degrees so that the entire battlefield will fit within the rectangular U.M.S. map. Consequently, true north is west on the U.M.S. map. This has no effect whatsoever on the simulation.

The U.M.S. Shiloh simulation uses four files. They are:

SHILOH.SIM	The U.M.S. simulation file.
SHILOH.MAP	The U.M.S. file that stores the map of the battlefield.
GRANT1.ARM	The U.M.S. file that stores the data for Grant's army at Shiloh.
BRAGG.ARM	The U.M.S. file that stores the date for Bragg's army at Shiloh.

This information is supplied so that the user may change the data in these files using the utilities included with U.M.S. for this purpose. Make sure that the changes are made to copies of the files, not the originals, in case your experiments do not work out.

ANTIETAM

The map of Antietam has also been rotated ninety degrees so that the entire battlefield will fit within the rectangular U.M.S. map. Consequently, true north is west on the U.M.S. map. This has no effect whatsoever on the simulation.

The U.M.S. Antietam simulation uses four files. They are:

ANTIETAM.SIM	The U.M.S. simulation file.
ANTIETAM.MAP	The U.M.S. file that stores the map of the battlefield.
LEE2.ARM	The U.M.S. file that stores the data for Lee's army at Antietam.
MCLELLN.ARM	The U.M.S. file that stores the date for McClellan's army at Antietam.

Note: Lee's army in the U.M.S. scenario of Gettysburg is stored with the filename: **LEE.ARM**, consequently the Army of Northern Virginia at Antietam is stored as **LEE2.ARM** to avoid confusion.

CHATTANOOGA

The map of Chattanooga has also been rotated ninety degrees so that the entire battlefield will fit within the rectangular U.M.S. map. Consequently, true north is west on the U.M.S. map. This has no effect whatsoever on the simulation.

The U.M.S. Chattanooga simulation uses four files. They are:

CHATTAN1.SIM

The U.M.S. simulation file of the tactical situation on November 25, 1863.

CHATTANO.MAP

The U.M.S. file that stores the map of the battlefield.

GRANT2.ARM

The U.M.S. file that stores the data for the Union army at Chattanooga.

BRAGG2.ARM

The U.M.S. file that stores the data for the Confederate army.

Note: Also included is **CHATTAN2.SIM**. This simulation file recreates the tactical situation on November 24, 1862; the day before the assault on Missionary Ridge.



RAINBIRD

G11300